

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----116426 221441Z /41  
O 221417Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5800  
INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY  
WHITEHOUSE WASH DC PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 05702

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR EG IS US  
SUBJECT: REVISED EGYPTIAN DRAFT DECLARATION OF  
PRINCIPLES

REF: (A) STATE 44137, (B) CAIRO 5566

SUMMARY: RAISED WITH SADAT TODAY NEED FOR BETTER EGYPTIAN  
DRAFT DECLARATION THAN THAT MOST RECENTLY GIVEN US IF WE  
ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF URGING ISRAELIS MAKE REASONABLE  
COMPROMISES. ATHERTON, WHO ARRIVING LATER TODAY, SCHED-  
ULED MEET WITH KAMEL TOMORROW AND IT DESIRABLE THAT  
ATHERTON BE ABLE RETURN TO JERUSALEM WITH SOMETHING TO USE  
WITH ISRAELIS. I URGED THAT EGYPTIANS REMAIN AS CLOSE AS  
POSSIBLE TO U.S. DRAFT GIVEN TO SADAT AND KAMEL ON FEB-  
RUARY 1. THIS WAS BASED ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S ASWAN  
LANGUAGE, WHICH SADAT HAD ACCEPTED. SADAT EXPRESSED  
WILLINGNESS THAT KAMEL TRY TO WORK WITH US ALONG LINES SUG-  
GESTED, BUT EMPHASIZED DESIRABILITY FOR AS SPECIFIC LANGU-  
AGE AS POSSIBLE. ASWAN LANGUAGE AGREEABLE, BUT WITHDRAWAL  
LANGUAGE NEEDS MORE PRECISION, PERHAPS ALONG LINES OF "ON  
ALL FRONTS". SADAT COMMENTED IT IS IN NEITHER OF OUR  
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INTERESTS TO APPEAR TO BE IN TOO GREAT A HURRY, SINCE THIS  
WILL BE SEIZED UPON BY ISRAELIS. HE OPINED THAT ISRAEL IS  
NOT LIKELY COME AROUND UNTIL NEXT SUMMER AS WE GET CLOSER  
TO OCTOBER DATE WHEN SINAI II EXPIRES. I CORRECTED HIS  
SUGGESTION THAT SINAI II EXPIRES IN OCTOBER. TOLD HIM  
THAT AT HIS REQUEST WE HAVE SOUGHT TO ACCELERATE PEACE  
PROCESS AND STRESSED IMPORTANCE THAT, AFTER EXCELLENT

PUBLIC RELATIONS IMPACT HE HAD HAD DURING RECENT U.S. TRIP, EGYPT NOT PROJECT IMPRESSION IT IS DISINTERESTED IN MOVING PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. SADAT AGREED AND PLANS MEET WITH KAMEL TOMORROW MORNING PRIOR LATTER'S MEETING WITH ATHERTON. END SUMMARY.

1. HAVE JUST COME FROM MEETING WITH SADAT AT ARMED FORCES HEADQUARTERS. HE HAD JUST HELICOPTERED IN FROM ISMAILIA TO ATTEND FUNERAL OF EGYPTIAN COMMANDOS KILLED IN LARNACA INCIDENT AND WAS ALSO SUFFERING FROM WHAT HE CALLED A BAD CASE OF FLU AND EXHAUSTION. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HIS MOOD WAS NOT THE BEST. AFTER HE HAD RAILED AT LENGTH ABOUT KYPRIANOU'S "TREACHERY" (SEPTTEL), HE ASKED ABOUT WHAT I MIGHT HAVE TO TELL HIM.

2. I RECALLED OUR LAST DISCUSSION IN WHICH HE HAD INDICATED A NEW EGYPTIAN DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WOULD BE PROVIDED. I HAD SUBSEQUENTLY RECEIVED IT FROM USAMA AL BAZ. (SADAT SAID THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD READ THE REVISED DRAFT TO HIM OVER THE PHONE. THIS CANNOT BE FULLY CORRECT, SINCE THE FINAL VERSION WAS DRAFTED IN MY PRESENCE AND GIVEN TO ME BY AL BAZ AFTER MUBARAK HAD LEFT FOR RABAT.) I TOLD HIM THAT, AFTER CAREFUL STUDY, WE HAVE RELUCTANTLY CONCLUDED THAT THE LAST EGYPTIAN REVISION IS REGRESSIVE AND HARDLY LIKELY TO FURTHER ATHERTON'S EFFORTS TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE DRAFT  
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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

3. I NOTED ATHERTON IS ARRIVING LATER TODAY AND IS SCHEDULED MEET WITH FONMIN KAMEL TOMORROW AFTERNOON. IT CLEARLY DESIRABLE THAT ATHERTON BE ABLE TO GO BACK TO JERUSALEM WITH SOMETHING HE CAN USE WITH THE ISRAELIS. WITHOUT THIS HE HAS NOTHING TO WORK WITH TO OBTAIN ISRAELI COMPROMISE. AS THE PRESIDENT KNEW, WE HAVE HAD NOTHING TO PRESENT TO THE ISRAELIS SINCE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE WAS SUSPENDED. WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT THAT, TO MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE, KAMEL'S LAST PROPOSAL BE REVISED TO REMAIN AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO OUR DRAFT WHICH WAS GIVEN TO KAMEL ON FEBRUARY 1 AND WHICH WAS BASED ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S ASWAN LANGUAGE. I RECALLED SADAT HAD ACCEPTED ASWAN LANGUAGE AND INDICATED WE ARE PREPARED URGE ISRAELIS STRONGLY AS POSSIBLE TO AGREE TO IT. AS SADAT ALSO AWARE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN LANGUAGE THAT GOES AS FAR BEYOND ASWAN LANGUAGE AS LATEST EGYPTIAN DRAFT. I HOPED THAT KAMEL WOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO WORK WITH ATHERTON HAVING THESE THOUGHTS IN MIND.

4. SADAT LISTENED ATTENTIVELY. SAID HE UNDERSTOOD OUR

CONCERN AND IS WILLING TO HAVE KAMEL TRY TO WORK WITH US  
ALONG THE LINES I HAD SUGGESTED. HE WISHED TO  
EMPHASIZE, HOWEVER, THAT WE SHOULD NOT CONTENT OURSELVES  
WITH VAGUE LANGUAGE. THE DRAFT DECLARATION SHOULD BE AS  
PRECISE AS POSSIBLE. FAILURE TO MAKE IT SO WILL ONLY CAUSE  
FUTURE PROBLEMS AS ONE OR ANOTHER SIDE INSISTS UPON ASKING

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EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

FOR CLARIFICATION. WE SHOULD NOT GIVE THE ISRAELIS EVERY-  
THING THEY WANT. THE ASWAN LANGUAGE, HE NOTED, IS AGREE-  
ABLE, BUT WE SHOULD BE PRECISE ON THE MATTER OF WITHDRAWAL.  
THIS NEED NOT NECESSARILY BE CAST IN TERMS OF SPECIFYING  
THE AREAS; SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF THE FORMULATION  
USED IN WASHINGTON, I.E. "ON ALL FRONTS", WOULD BE AGREE-  
ABLE. SO WOULD LANGUAGE TO THE EFFECT THAT ISRAELI  
SOVEREIGNTY WILL NOT EXCEED THE BORDERS OF 1967. IT IS  
NOT ENOUGH, SADAT ASSERTED, SIMPLY TO PUT THE LANGUAGE OF  
RESOLUTION 242 IN THE DRAFT DECLARATION. IF THAT WERE THE  
SOLE PURPOSE OF THE EXERCISE, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR  
A DRAFT DECLARATION. THERE MUST BE SOMETHING NEW IN THE  
DRAFT DECLARATION IF IT IS TO HAVE ANY MEANING.

5. I EMPHASIZED TO SADAT THAT WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF  
ACCEDING TO ALL THE ISRAELI DEMANDS. ON THE CONTRARY,  
THE ISRAELIS ARE NOT ENTIRELY HAPPY WITH SOME OF THE  
LANGUAGE WE HAVE SUGGESTED. OUR PURPOSE, AS HE KNEW, IS  
TO ACCELERATE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AND,  
HOPEFULLY, TO BRING KING HUSSEIN INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. SADAT THEN MADE AN INTERESTING COMMENT. HE SAID HE IS  
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NOT IN ANY HURRY. IT IS IN NEITHER OF OUR INTERESTS TO  
BE IN A HURRY. AS HE NOW VIEWED IT, THE ISRAELIS ARE NOT  
LIKELY TO COME AROUND UNTIL NEXT SUMMER (HE MADE A  
SIMILAR REMARK TO DAVID ROCKEFELLER LAST EVENING). AS  
OCTOBER APPROACHES, WHEN, HE SAID, SINAI II EXPIRES, THEY  
ARE LIKELY TO SHOW A LITTLE MORE INTEREST IN ARRIVING AT  
A MUTUALLY SATIS-  
FACTORY ARRANGEMENT. I TOOK THE OCCASION TO REMIND SADAT  
THAT, IN OUR VIEW, SINAI II DOES NOT EXPIRE IN OCTOBER.  
IT IS TRUE THAT HIS COMMITMENT TO RENEW THE UNEF MANDATE  
FOR THREE YEARS COMES TO AN END IN OCTOBER, BUT WE DO  
NOT CONSIDER THAT SINAI II ENDS AT THAT TIME. IN FACT,  
IT IS NEITHER IN EGYPT'S NOR ANYONE ELSE'S INTEREST TO  
CONTENTEND THAT SINAI II AUTOMATICALLY TERMINATES IN OCTOBER.  
DOING SO WILL SIMPLY ENABLE THE ISRAELIS TO CONTENTEND THAT  
THOSE PROVISIONS OF SINAI II THAT BENEFIT EGYPT, NAMELY  
WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MITLA AND GIDDI PASSES AND THE RETURN  
OF THE GULF OF SUEZ OIL AREAS, ARE NO LONGER VALID. SADAT  
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS SO, BUT STILL CONTENTENDED THAT IT  
IS UNWISE TO GIVE THE ISRAELIS THE IMPRESSION THAT EGYPT  
OR WE ARE IN A HURRY. TO DO SO WILL SIMPLY CAUSE THEM TO  
BECOME MORE INTRANSIGENT. FOR EXAMPLE, SADAT SAID, IT  
DID NOT MATTER IF AHERTON'S CURRENT MISSION DOES NOT  
SUCCEED AT THIS TIME IN ARRIVING AT MUTUALLY AGREEABLE  
LANGUAGE ON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

7. I AGAIN REMINDED SADAT THAT OUR WHOLE PURPOSE HAS BEEN  
TO TRY TO ACCELERATE THE PEACE PROCESS. WE HAVE SOUGHT  
TO DO SO AT SADAT'S REQUEST. AHERTON HAS BEEN SENT TO  
THE AREA WITH THIS IN MIND. WHILE I COULD UNDERSTAND  
HIS DESIRE NOT TO APPEAR IN SO MUCH OF A HURRY THAT THE  
ISRAELIS MIGHT GET THE WRONG IMPRESSION, I THOUGHT  
IT EQUALLY IMPORTANT THAT SADAT AND EGYPT NOT APPEAR TO BE  
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GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY HAVE BECOME DISINTERESTED  
IN MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. I RECALLED THE  
EXCELLENT IMPRESSION HE HAD MADE ON THE AMERICAN CONGRESS  
AND PUBLIC DURING HIS RECENT VISIT AND NOTED IT WOULD  
BE REGRETTABLE IF THE EGYPTIAN POSITION NOW APPEARS ONE OF  
DISINTEREST OR REGRESSIVE. THIS WOULD PLAY INTO ISRAELI  
HANDS. SADAT THOUGHT ABOUT THIS FOR A MOMENT AND AGREED  
THAT GOE SHOULD DO NOTHING THAT MIGHT DETRACT FROM THE

POSITIVE PUBLIC REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE  
TO HIS PEACE INITIATIVES. SOME WAY HAS TO BE FOUND, HE  
MUSED, TO MOVE FORWARD ON THE DRAFT DECLARATION WITHOUT  
GIVING THE APPEARANCE EITHER OF EXCESSIVE HASTE  
OR OF INDIFFERENCE.

8. HE SAID THAT HE WILL PLAN TO MEET WITH FONMIN KAMEL  
TOMORROW MORNING, AFTER KAMEL'S RETURN, AND INSTRUCT HIM  
ALONG THE LINES THAT WE HAD DISCUSSED. EILTS

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## Message Attributes

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